Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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The above scheme shows that Class A, composed of landowners, who in this community are sugar-cane planters, is found only in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. As has already been indicated, this class still follows the old pattern of the plantation master in that its members are part-time residents of the county, maintaining winter homes in the capital. This class is locally composed of seventeen adults and their sixteen children. A total of five families are represented, three of which are related to one another through marriage. These people have no competition from below in Vila Recôncavo. In the capital they are part of the national upper class, and as such are subject to all the stress and strain of any cosmopolitan "high society" group. They are largely descendants of former plantation masters, barons, viscounts, and other former aristocrats, who belonged traditionally to the national, as well as the local, upper class. Other members of these families are successful lawyers, doctors, and educators, and their political participation in state and federal matters is as traditional as their landowning. They belong to the upper class because they are legitimate descendants of former white aristocrats with long family traditions, because they are large-scale landowners and therefore major economic agents, because they are highly educated, some of them holding advanced degrees from European or North American universities, and because they engage in traditional gentlemen's professions such as law, medicine, and engineering.

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This is the group which is rapidly shedding the constraints of traditional behavior and embracing new ideas which come to them from Europe and North America. In contrast, the class immediately below them has for its goals and its patterns of ideal behavior the now historic upper-class traditions such as the double sex standard, the cloistering and protection of women, and dignity of dress and formal manners.

On the local scene it can be said that it is impossible for anyone to move up into Class A, for while its relations with the lower classes are cordial, they take place on the level of paternalism. The gulf between this small upper class and any of the classes below it is so great that it is inconceivable that anyone should cross it. In Salvador this upper class is considerably larger and less homogeneous, and although the usual pattern within this class is for social life to be spent em família--that is, in extended family gatherings rather than gatherings of several different families--the class is

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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ter) and homens de côr (men of color) including a few pretos (blacks).

Most individuals in this class are conscious of their "superiority" over the bulk of the town population, because of their higher economic status, the kind of work they do (usually white-collar), their better educations, better family traditions, and whiter, or at least lighter, skins. They are conscious of the fact that they are at the top of the scale on the local scene, and that to go any higher is impossible in the town. To do this they would have to move to a city. If one had a special ability he might be able to improve his condition in a large city, but he might also remain unrecognized. In the town he is the "big frog in the little pond," and this seems to give a certain amount of satisfaction to many.

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People of Class B seek to maintain favorable relations with the rural landowners, who dispense the municipal patronage and have the contacts in Salvador necessary to influence federal and state appointments, since members of their families are frequently state and federal government representatives.

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Only the merchants of Class B are in a relatively independent position, for they can operate independently of politics. Their market is the town population and is in no way dependent upon trade or patronage from the planters or their workers. There are no traditional merchant families in Vila Recôncavo. All contemporary storekeepers are persons who have worked their way up from fishing or some other activity to storekeeping.

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This class is slowly growing, and there are certain standards to which all its members conform, such as living in the old part of town, dressing with more care than the lower classes, supporting the church and patronizing the few religious holiday celebrations, sending their children to Salvador for their secondary education, owning radios, good dishes and furniture, displaying family solidarity and good manners, and maintaining a good relationship with members of Class A. But there is little or no cohesion among members of the group. They seldom act as a unit or express a group opinion (except to condemn candomblé, the local variation of African cultism).

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The social life of these people is definitely limited and to some extent follows the same pattern as that of the rural members of the same class, in that the men go out more than do their wives. The women of this group remain at home most

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[Class B Families]

capacities, or they are "newly arrived" socially, which often indicates that the relatives of either or both spouses may belong to the lower class; in this case the local upper-class families are inclined to ignore them. In these conjugal families the husband is the central figure, participating in business and social activities of the town, while his wife and children, especially daughters, remain at home. The sons usually go to the city to school and remain there after graduation, so there is little chance of continuing a strong family line in the town. At the factory the case is somewhat different, for the sons of Class B families may enter the factory in one of the higher office positions, thus forming a larger family group as they marry and settle down there. This pattern, however, is only apparent in the second generation, and there are only three cases of it.

As a result of the lack of public entertainment in Vila Recôncavo and the competitive attitude of members of Class B among themselves and toward the higher members of Class C, there is little social gathering, especially for the women. There are never extended family gatherings for Class B such as those described for Class A. The men go to the bar or visit one another's homes to some slight extent, but wives and daughters seldom do. The wives are kept occupied bearing children and caring for them. Those few daughters who are sent to school in the city are indeed fortunate, for their chances of marrying and remaining in Salvador, the desire of most young people, are greatest. The summer vacation is boring to them in comparison with their scope of activities in the winter. The sons can enjoy the summer, going swimming, horseback riding, playing ball, making the most of the few parties and festivals (festas) which take place during the summer, lounging in the bar gossiping, meeting the boat, and visiting lower-class girls. The daughters, on the other hand, can do nothing of the sort. They spend their time at home with their mothers and sometimes visit a married girl friend or sister to gossip.

For those girls who remain in the town, life can be intolerably dull. They must be extremely careful of where they go, when, and with whom, and of what they do, for the town gossip about them can be vicious. The reputation of a girl seen on the street at night without one of her parents is ruined. These girls are expected to be virgins, models of propriety,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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individuals seek to rationalize and to defend their customary conduct. This ideology is perhaps best summarized in the commonly heard phrase, "We Brazilians are becoming one people."

25. Thus, the race problem in Brazil, in so far as there is a race problem, tends to be identified with the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption and assimilation.

This is not to say that there are no social distinctions in Brazil; for such are obviously common to all societies, one thing or another serving as a basis. Neither does it mean that there is no discrimination or that the blacks and mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot. But it does mean (*a*) that a man of color may, by reason of individual merit or favorable circumstance, improve his status and even achieve position in the upper levels of society and (*b*) that this position will then be with reference not merely to the darker group whose color he shares but to the total community.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes, the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive *563 •183 829 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life, and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks, for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them, particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites, entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian *563 668 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies. And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however, "this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join," one Black stated.

*563 668 829 [554] The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements; very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal support and contribute financially to these movements, but they follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors